1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

756 He sang a song of the weasel spirit. The animal rose and danced, holding up his fore paws. That evening Pat's parents took him into the lodge again. The shaman sang the weasel song again. It danced as before; then it disappeared. No one moved. It was dark in the lodge; the shaman had two men standing on opposite sides with torches. He sang a weasel song, telling them to watch for the weasel's return. Suddenly its tail appeared from the ground, shaking. He sang a second weasel song for some time and its hind quarters appeared. A third song brought the trunk, and with the fourth the weasel lay there motionless. Everyone saw it. The shaman asked, "Did you find that the weasel came back?" "Yes." "Did everyone see it?" "Yes." After this they had spirit singing again, so Pat was sent out by his mother. There were bad spirits coming, which might catch and kill him for no one could cure him.[168]

WEATHER CONTROL AND CLAIRVOYANCE

The shaman's art is not confined to these winter performances, but is invoked during the year, not only for curing, but whenever his ability to manipulate conditions and to prophesy is needed. The weather is controlled, fish are made to run, lost articles and thefts discovered, the fate of a war party is foreseen, and the community protected against malignant spirits. It is easy to see why the shaman transcends the chief in the popular mind, for there is not only the recurring winter ceremony in which the shaman alone has a stellar part, but in every emergency they turn to him, not to the chief. Even in war, the one occasion for a layman to star, the shaman steps in to dim his prominence.

756 There are no special weather shamans and the practice is by both
• 789 sexes. There is the limitation, however, that weather control is exercised only through certain spirits, which the novice does not have.

[532] [168] There are three stone figurines in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California (catalogue nos. 1–14181, 1–14182, 1–14212) which were said to have been collected on the Klamath reservation and to have been used ceremonially. Two roughly resemble animals, one with a pack, and the third a human bust. Repeated inquiries brought only denials from my informants of any knowledge of their use. Nor have any figurines been found in their country. They may nevertheless have been the private medicine of some shaman. Somewhat similar stone figures from the Wasco are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History.

[292] In the Field Museum collection is also a pair of eye rings (no. 61533), resembling our spectacle frames, which were "worn by men with blackened faces to frighten children at certain ceremonies." I learned nothing of such articles. The rings and the cords to fasten them about the head are made of strands wrapped with bark.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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The songs of these spirits bring southerly winds and storm or the cold north wind to clear the sky. There is the suggestion here that weather control is a winter practice; hence it falls in the period most suitable for shamanistic performances. Rain is brought with the songs of the flicker, a black bird (não'lins), the horned owl, red shitepoke, and a big water snail (ɬ!awi's). Wile'aɬaɬ, Dwarf Old Woman, lying on Mount Pitt, controls the west wind; she can cause the heaviest downpour when the snow lies too deep. The prairie chicken makes the loudest thunder. Rattlesnake makes rain and thunder; the thunder is his rattling. To make it snow they use the songs of various white things, such as the pelican, which causes the greatest fall, and the white grizzly and brown bears. Clear weather is brought by a strong north wind; the songs for this are those of a hawk (tel'ktu), magpie, crow, and Gõga'nɛ, a dwarf, who is most potent. Crow is thought to have cross-eyes; when he rolls them, it stops snowing. The songs of the winds are also used; there are seven of these, one for each of the compass points except northeast. Winds raised by shamans cause sickness and death. There are other spirits which control the weather but these are the principal ones.

The shaman lies alone singing in his earth-lodge or sweat-lodge. If he does not succeed in a single night or if he is only partly successful, he calls the people to help him with the regular performance (wa'hia), dancing and singing to invoke the aid of more spirits. Nancy's father could make the weather change. He had two spirits, crow to stop the falling snow and the water snail to bring rain when it grew too cold. While other shamans could make the wind blow, the snow drift, and cause it to thunder, Nancy does not know that her father could. His crow song was

[539]

ɬaɬ kõ'mɛ ge'o
crow mine
bẽlis galo' holi'ta
cross-eyed sky cleared.

His second song made it rain immediately,

ɬ!awiɬ!a ya'nu'
water snail am I.

He sang these in his earth-lodge.

An exhibition of weather control of quite different character is described in the following incident. The shaman ɬia'kamag (Shaman Man) went to Ashland in the autumn to trade but he could not return because of deep snow on the Cascade range. He was challenged to make it rain. He melted a strip of lead in a frying pan and had some one pour it down his gullet. They could hear it hiss. In the middle of the night it rained so hard that the snow melted away.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

756 The shaman is called on to exercise this art when the weather is
789 unpropitious and the food supply in danger. If the ice stays late in
226 the spring so that they cannot fish, they go to the shaman to get him to make it rain. If it rains but no fish come, they ask him again to bring the fish. The first catch is always divided so that everyone has something to relieve his hunger.

756 Should the fish disappear from the mouth of Williamson river, for
226 example, an old man will ask a shaman to discover the cause. He invites them to assist in the singing-dancing performance in his lodge to call the spirits, which in this case is expedited to two nights instead of the usual five. It appears that a shaman above them on the river, growing jealous of their success in fishing, has sent a spirit mink under the water to drive the fish away or take them to some other people. The spirit that makes the fish run is a big sluggish snake. The shaman causes two female snakes to lie in the mouth of the river. Then he tells the fishermen to try their luck and to bring him a fish, male (ḳŏ'ktsials) or female ('lŭ'ksăls), from each net. This performance is called kie'rmalo'ɛ, to make fish.

756 Rivalry among the shamans is glaringly apparent. It not only appears in the shamanistic tricks where the results are tangible and visible but extends for obvious reasons to superior claims of weather control and to the detection and conquest of other shamans' sickness-bringing spirits, with the dispatch of malignant spirits in turn. Contests in manipulating the weather are not a special form of shamanistic activity among the Klamath, and I doubt that they are among other American tribes where the practice has been described.

A Modoc put a spirit on Mount Shasta to make it snow. The spirit caused sickness as well. A Klamath shaman performed the usual dance-song ceremony and discovered that the Modoc shaman was at the bottom of the mischief. He sent one of his own spirits to catch the spirit on the mountain and enslave it. When it was caught the Modoc died.

A very powerful Modoc shaman, Black Sage-brush Head, had a stone pipe. Whenever he wanted to smoke, the pipe lit itself, or rather a spirit did it. He visited Ctai'is, a Klamath shaman living at the mouth of Williamson river, and exchanged pipes with him. After his return home, Ctai'is found the pipe missing. Later they had word from the Modoc that the pipe had returned to him.[169]

There is no question that the rivalry cuts deeper at times. A shaman accused of causing sickness stands in danger of his life, and the matter may turn on the relative personalities of the rivals. It is patent then why foreign shamans are accused, Modoc and Paiute for

[169] This appealed to the humor of my informants enormously.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kʟmŭ'kŭmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[216] 821

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217] 787

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech. 789

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house. 777

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell. 844 [784]

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in 789

[216] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wī'sĭŋk) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ĭlkŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komā'ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

264 Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places so as to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula is a prayer. If this is neglected, the earth would harm the little children.

823 An earthquake (ke'la t!ill'ᵑgɛ, earth shakes) is caused by the hero Kɛmū'kūmps who moves the earth. It has no special significance. The only quake recalled by my informant occurred during the Ghost Dance of 1870; it was interpreted as a not unfavorable sign.

821 An eclipse is called lo̱k slo'ki, grizzly bear eats. They say that Grizzly Bear eats the sun or moon at this time. People gather to make a noise, crying ko̱, ko̱, Frog; they hire the Frog (ko̱'wĕ) in the moon to use her powers on the bear, because Frog is the moon's wife as the following tale explains. The frog can be seen in the moon. The sun is included in this explanation. Although sun and moon are called by the same word, sa'bas, they are known to be separate entities.

[539] Moon had two sisters. When Frog went to visit, she went into Moon's house. Moon told his sisters, "You had better let her sleep with you." But they said, "No, you had better take her." Frog was angry at this and jumping on Moon, clung fast. Moon tried to cut Frog loose with a knife but he could not. So she is stuck fast, part of him, today. He said, "Well, I will keep her as my wife, so that whenever Bear eats me Frog can exercise her shamanistic power to drive him away." So they are living together today.

789 There are several magical ways of making the wind blow, but they turn on the same notion. There is a rock in the water south of Bare island which is a mythical hero, and another on Eagle Ridge near-by is his dog. If the latter is struck the wind will blow a gale from the south.

My father told me [Pat Kane], "Do not hit this else a very strong wind will blow. Do not throw stones in the lake there or play there." I wondered what would happen. I was a big boy. I took a club and struck the rock. Next day a strong wind blew, the strongest wind I have ever seen. It thundered, snowed, and hailed for two days. My father asked, "Why did you hit it?" I could not answer. He said, "I told you not to hit it."

Similarly, poking in an eddy (sū'laūks) near the mouth of Williamson river with a pole, pumping it up and down, will cause a strong wind to blow. Both localities are connected by the same tale; the eddy is where the hero disappeared under the water, the rock his resting place. There is another spot where the wind can be made to blow, the rocks at Squaw point. Pounding in the holes on the south side, for instance, will bring a south wind.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Northern Paiute NR 13

K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand K [436] to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the K [721] south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were [439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and [177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia. [174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[399]

K [189] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K 302 Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red [756] during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use, white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to [822] war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to K [317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixK ture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.
[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796a 756 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] [372] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 755 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure consists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 756 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation.[426]

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[427]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

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[426] Handbook, 852.
[427] *Op. cit.*, 63.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

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shared by other Upper Chinook (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) and the Eastern Pomo. Similar to their belief in respect to death, the Northern Maidu say it thunders when a woman has a miscarriage, and the people of Cochiti say the same of a Navaho woman when the wind blows. Again, a sudden change of the weather accompanies a Thompson birth.[802]

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An association of the moon and frog is common to several tribes of this quarter. The Klamath say that the Moon is saved by his wife, Frog, during an eclipse, from being eaten by a grizzly. The frog can be seen in the moon. The Quinault hold an identical belief. An eclipse is caused by the "upper fisher" (a spirit animal) biting the moon. "There is a lady frog up there who helps the most and really saves the moon." A tale describes this frog as married to the moon. According to the Northern Maidu, the spots in the moon are thought to be a frog. A Northern Paiute tale describes Moon as swallowing Frog.[803]

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One of the few acts of outright magic among the Klamath relates to causing the wind to blow. This is accomplished by poking in the hollows of a certain rock, striking another, or poking in a particular eddy. The Wishram also maintain that stirring about in a hole in the rocks near their village will raise a wind; the Quinault that thrusting a stick into a spot where gas bubbles rise in the water will bring a storm; and the Twana (or Klallam?) that shaking a certain rock will cause rain.[804]

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Comparable to the Klamath belief that the "cat" *Bassariscus* kills deer by wrapping his long tail around their necks, the Northern Maidu state this of the mountain lion.[805]

Summary

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The general basis of Klamath shamanism is like that of other interior Plateau and Basin peoples. Social importance attaches to shamans above even that accorded chiefs. Rituals are meager and throughout are crisis ceremonials. As with the generality of North American tribes, acquisition of power is free for all, shamans stand-

[802] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266–7; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 374; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297; Goldfrank, Cochiti, 83; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 316.

[803] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266 (the tale relative to this is not available to me); Natches, Northern Paiute Verbs, 257.

[804] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674.

[805] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 266.

	K1	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
1956. Down woven into	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	292
1957. For war dances only	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	[535]
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	-	-	-	-	◦	-	◦	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[72]
CURRENCY, TREASURE																	
Currency																	
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	◦	+		◦	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	436
1960. Standard of value	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	825
1961. Incised	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1962. Feathers on large end	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1964. Graded on finger creases	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1965. Counted	-	-	-							+							
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	◦	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	-	+	-	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[415]
1970. Purse of horn fork	-	-	-	-	+	-		◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1971. Buckskin purse	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1972. Cased fur purse	-	-	-	-	+	◦		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1973. Shells rolled in fur	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	-	+	◦	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1975. Long dentalia preferred	-	-	+					◦	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1976. Clamshell disks	R	-	+	◦	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1977. Standard of value	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1978. Manufactured	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1979. Smoothing slab	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1980. Disks counted	-	-	-	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981. Short strings only	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1982. Measured around neck											+	+	+	-	-	-	
1983. Measured on elbow	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	-	◦	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	+	-	
1986. Cased-fur purse	-	-		(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	-	+			◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	[415]
1988. Basket for purse	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	-	◦	+		+	◦		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	[426]
Treasure																	
1990. Olivella: whole shell	-	-	-	◦	◦	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	-	-	+	-	+	◦	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
1992. Sizes distinguished	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
1993. Bone cylinders		-	-		+	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
1994. Magnesite cylinders	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[439]
1995. Imported	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	◦	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1998. Manufactured, not used	-		-	◦	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1999. Charmstones	◦	-	-	+	(-)	◦	+	-	◦	+	-	+	+	+	-	◦	
2000. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	789 ●
2001. Most effective if found by possessor	-	-	-			+		-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	823
2002. Used in doctoring	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord				+												+	
2004. Doughnut stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
2005. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534	2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	3	5	6	-	-	4	5	5	4	5	3	5
[755]	2089. Used by shaman in curing	-	-	?	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
	2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
[787]	2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
	2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
[891]	2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
[535]	2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[720]	2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[796]	2101. For Ghost dance	-	-	R	-		R		R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2107. Worm	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[88]	2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
	2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2111. Basket rattle	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[524]	2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
	Rasp																
	2114. Notched-wood rasp	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
	2116. Bull-roarer	R	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[789]	2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[753]	2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[756]	2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562]	2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2124. Musical bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
	2125. Hunting bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
	2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562]	2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Whistles and Flutes																
	2130. Whistle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
	2133. Bone	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	2134. Bird or rodent	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
	2135. Large mammal	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
	2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	R	-	-	-	+	+	-
	2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2536. Any time	–	–	–	+		–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	– 535
2537. Several bands assemble together	+	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
2538. Young people dance, mainly	–	+									–	–	–		–	–
2539. Purpose mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	– [78]
2540. To make seeds grow	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2541. Dance around center post	–	+	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		–	–
2542. Juniper tree	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2543. Dance around fire	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
2544. All dancers sing	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	– [533]
†2545. Special singers	–	–	–	–		–	½	–	¼	–	–	½	–		–	–
2546. Each local group sings own songs, in turn	+	–	+			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2547. Split-stick rattle accompaniment	–	–		–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2548. Clap hands as accompaniment	–	–	½			+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2549. Women choose partners	–	–	–	–		–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–		–	– [562]
2550. Men choose partners	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2551. Dance in 1 circle	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–		–	–
2552. Dance in 2 concentric circles	+	–	–	+		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2553. Dance in 2 circles next to each other	–	–	–			+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2554. Sexes alternate	+	–	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2555. Sexes dance opposite each other in 1 circle	+	–	–					½	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2556. Quick shuffle step	+	(+)	+	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	–
2557. Hopping step	–	.	–	+		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2558. Stamp both feet, moving slightly									+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2559. Start: counterclockwise	+	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2560. Reverse: dance clockwise	–	.	–	+		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2561. When dance stops, all shout	+	+	+					+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2562. Good singer dance leader	+	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2563. Band or district chief dance leader	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–		–	– [622]
2564. Clowns	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2565. Act of own accord; not appointed	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	– [532]
o2566. Duration of dance, nights	1	+	1	1		1	1	3	1	2	–	2	–		–	–
2567. Dance occasion for courting	+	+	+	–		–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2568. Visitors camp in circular brush corral	–	–	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	– [574]
2569. Visitors feasted by hosts	–	–	+			+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Sweat "Dance"																
2570. Held inside sweat house											+	+	+		–	– [515]
2571. At night											+	+	+		–	–
2572. Any time of year												+	+		–	–
2573. Both sexes participate											+	+	–		–	–
2574. Hot fire in sweat house											+	+	+		–	–
2575. 1 singer; hits center pole with stick											+	–	–		–	– [583]
2576. Split-stick rattle used											–	+	–		–	–
2577. Participants stand in 1 spot, dance until exhausted											+	+	+		–	–
2578. Swim after dancing											+	+	+		–	– [481]
Bear Dances																
2579. Bear dance aboriginal	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	½	½	–		½	+ [177]
2580. Given for good time	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
2581. Given to dress bearskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2582. Held in spring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
2583. Held in winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
2584. Held any time, in good weather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	–
2585. Danced in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–		–	+
2586. Danced in open	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–
o2587. Whole gathering lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–		–	2

DDD 1975. WT: "Like smaller ones; they are whiter and smoother; larger ones are darker. Smaller ones cost more; they pick out these."

1976. SW: Imported from Wintu, who manufacture them. At: Obtained in considerable quantity from MM of Big Meadows by individuals who have relatives there; recent (?). "Trade horses with these"; also use them as necklaces.

1978. At: Small quantities only.

1980. AW: Counted in units of 20 each.

1984. Span of both arms, with string extending downward in middle as far as umbilicus.

1985. SE, At: 1 arm span, from fingers to nose.

1986. SW: Possibly used for clamshell disks; certainly for shaman's tobacco.

1987. AW: Used as receptacle for large quantities of beads.

1989. Mo: Somewhat longer strand of beads returned than borrowed, usually, but this not obligatory. AW: Do not loan currency; give it to poor man.

Tressure.--

1990. SW: Imported from coast; used for necklaces, also as currency, but not so expensive as dentalia. At: Used for decoration; also to pay shamans.

1991. AW: Used as ornaments on women's dance aprons of strung pine nuts.

1994. AW: Magnesite cylinders, Olivella shells obtained, strung together with the imported clamshell disks and dentalia.

1997. AE: Rarely if ever seen; only very wealthy man able to own such. WM: Hafted obsidian knives tied on buckskin band, worn around neck, down back. Such knives ornamental; not worn during dances, but only when visiting. WS: Large obsidian knives (olwanis) carried in dances, for display; also used for war.

1998. SW: Black and cloudy red variety; carried occasionally in War dance, but not kept for long; chiefly sent down-river to Karuk. "SE near Glass Mountain made those large blades used down-river." SW on Klamath River, usually acted as middlemen for SE and Karuk; SW received dentalia from down-river in exchange for goods. SW "packed all their goods down to trade with Karuk once a year, when Karuk held White Deerskin dance; that was the only Karuk dance they attended." Trading between SW and Karuk carried on at any other time of year through Kammatwa group (see notes for 282, 1902).

[789 825] 1999. KI: Keep dried bat or hummingbird in quiver, permanently, as charm. Bat occurs in mythology; is most successful hunter. AW: Of various sorts, all in natural state, not smoothed or polished. Shaman uses striated ("painted") rock; small smooth diamond-shaped pebbles, ca. 2 in. long, "lucky for gambling." Informant had drawerful of 20-30 smooth small rocks. Most prized charmstones are "diamonds"; at night these "shine in darkness, giving off bright light like fire, and smoke; rise out of ground and then sink

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K 756 796 [221] shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families along the wal. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

K M [778] [531]

K M [858]

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

K M [789]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop.

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule